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Workers of the world unite.

Aims and Tactics OF THE **TRADE UNIONS.**

(Drafted by Comrade LOSOVSKY).

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Draft proposed by comrade A. Losovsky.

Aims and tactics of the trade unions.

I. Conditions of Struggle.

1. The aims and tactics of the trade unions are determined by the conditions and intensity of the class struggle on an International and national scale. It is an irrefutable fact, that modern society has entered a stage of decay and that the capitalist system faces ultimate collapse. The symptoms of this decay are revealed by the enormous and growing national indebtedness; a temporary prosperity in some branches of industry which was rapidly followed by an industrial crisis; the wars still being fought on many fronts; the economic instability in many of the oldest capitalist countries of Europe; the atrocious industrial crisis raging throughout the world; the mountains of goods piled up in some countries while at the same time there is a total lack of commodities in others; the inevitability of new wars to preserve the spoils of the last world war to the victors, in the decrease of wages and conditions of labor, in the absolute impossibility of reestablishing economic stability and political and social equilibrium through the former methods of capitalist exploitation.

2. On the background of this economic crisis and the unthinkable devastations caused by the long years of war, the socialist struggle grows sharper in all countries, attaining an unparalleled acuteness. Strikes of unusual size are breaking out in one country after another, and the proletariat attempts by means of them to maintain its position against the assault of capital. But the proletariat is leading its struggle in isolated groups thus condemning its best organized ranks to total defeat.

3. The struggle of the working class and its organization is complicated by the fact that the bourgeoisie has availed itself in full of the war and the revolution—in many countries much better than the workers—and created an organization for the destruction of the revolutionary movement. There is not a single bourgeois country which besides the

usual, normal organisations for repression (such as the army, police, department of justice, etc.) has not created new organizations, voluntary bodies of the ruling classes created for the armed suppression of the rebellious workers.

4. In this struggle against the increasing dissatisfaction among the masses, the bourgeoisie opposes its united front, casting into this fight the whole of its economic organizations. It realises perfectly that only the highest degree of unity, concentration of forces, centralized organization, and the moral and material support of its state machinery and the creation of special militant organizations will save it from defeat, or at least, put off the approaching social revolution. The bourgeoisie never separates politics from economics, leaving such division to the labour organizations.

5. The theory of the unions in the period of peaceful development of capitalist society consisted in the belief that by raising the standard of living among the workers, and by the improvement of the conditions of labor, relying upon the gains already obtained, society would gradually forward by the organisation of the masses towards the realization of socialist society. The reformist unions consider a slow and gradual transition from capitalism possible by means of the transformation of the bourgeois democracy into a socialist democracy. The revolutionary unions believed that without a violent overthrow of capitalism the working class cannot abolish the system of wage slavery.

6. But the revolutionary and the reformist unions aimed at the consolidation and training of the mass as their basic tasks. Those problems remain the same even in the actual period of disorganization of capitalist society. The trade unions the school and the workshop of communism whose problem is to prepare the workers for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

The main question consists in how and on which basis of the every day struggle this preparation and consolidation of the masses will take place. The problem which must be put before the working class is how to organise its every day struggle and link it up with the general problems of the working class, bringing it nearer to the ultimate grapple with its class enemy. The conditions of this struggle have become considerably complicated at the present time.

The interrelations of its many elements, are entirely different from those of the pre-war period and during the war. Therefore the task of the unions is different and the methods of struggle must also be different.

II. The Trade Unions Before the War.

7. During the latter part of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century there were three main groups of trade union movements: Anglo-Saxon (trade unionism), German-Austrian (social democratic reformism), French-Spanish (revolutionary syndicalism). These three groups in the international labour movement differed from one another likewise in method and in character. It presented three different ideologies and programs of action.

8. The basic feature of Anglo-Saxon trade unionism was political neutrality in regard to socialist parties, concentrating its entire attention upon the immediate concrete problems of the day. The trade union movement accepted the social struggle only from the point of view of narrow craft unionism, thus expecting to solve all the economic and social problems. The trade union movement included chiefly the aristocracy of the working class. The very philosophy of trade unionism is the philosophy of labour aristocracy.

Capital and Labour were considered by the theoretical and practical authorities on trade unionism not as two distinct class enemies but as two elements mutually supplementing each other as factors of society. They contended that the development of society entirely depends upon the harmony between capital and labour and the just distribution of social wealth.

9. The German-Austrian trade union movement which appeared later than the Anglo-Saxon one, having been formed under different circumstances, had from the start been invested with socialist ideas. The social democrats of Germany and Austria stood at the very cradle of the trade union movement thus transmitting to it the true social democratic spirit. But the social democratic program and tactics in regard to the trade union movement have assumed the character of reformist socialism. The trade unions of Germany were the source of reformism, the very substance of which may be reduced to the following: gradual and peaceful development through democracy to socialism. They obscured working class interests fearing revolution and the possible overthrow of capitalism, hoping at the same time that the development of democratic forms would automatically bring about socialism without any bloodshed or violence; with reference to the pure trade union policy their intentions were to keep them out of the political and revolutionary struggle. They also advocated neutrality towards revolutionary socialism and adopted the program of

socialist reformism. Apart from that, they overestimated the benefit of collective bargaining and the system of profit sharing. In this manner they expected to accomplish, in the domain of social relations, the political and economic levelling of the workers while the capitalists retained the system of exploitation.

10. Revolutionary syndicalism which was created as a reaction against the opportunism of the French Socialist Party had for its basis a certain number of revolutionary points. It advanced the idea of direct action, advocated the general strike and the forcible overthrow of capitalism; conducted anti-militarist agitation and propagated and created the anti-government theory. It also created a theory according to which the trade unions are the only organisations which will bring about the revolution and build up the new social system. Revolutionary syndicalism shaped itself under the influence of anarchist ideology and carried with it all the defects of anarchist reasoning.

11. Revolutionary syndicalism has brought to light a number of ideas—and in this it has been most valuable—which placed it high above all the other forms of the labour movement and brought it into close contact with revolutionary socialism. Such ideas, like those of direct action, the revolutionary pressure of the masses upon Capital and State, abolition of capitalism, propaganda of the social revolution,—all these must be placed to the credit of the revolutionary syndicalists and gives the positive side of revolutionary syndicalism. On the other side we find in syndicalism the principle of independence and neutrality towards communism; the objection against any state including the proletarian state; the over-estimation of the general strike and a wrong attitude towards the palliative demands of the workers. Economics and politics are two different things for the revolutionary syndicalists, although it is quite clear that politics is nothing but concentrated economics. These last ideas, in spite of their seeming of revolutionary foundation are, as a matter of fact, instilled into the working class by the bourgeoisie, although the latter has never made any difference, in its own fighting, between politics and economics.

12. Those three forms of the trade union movement especially developed and shaped themselves in the period of peaceful development by capitalist society, therefore bore the evidence of adjustment to capitalism and its ideology. These peculiar features of narrow craft unionism, the exclusiveness of the trade unions, the fight of many unions against women's

labour, exclusion of foreigners from membership, in the unions, deep devotion to the Fatherland and national industry, etc.—found their maximum expression during the war, when class interests clashed with national interests.

III. The Trade Unions during the war.

13. The world war resulting out of the antagonisms of national Capitalism, proved the influence of the Bourgeoisie upon the working class and its organisations, to be too powerful. The trade Unions in the most important countries of Europe, immediately on the declaration of war ceased to exist as class organisations and turned at once into militant imperialist organisations, whose task was confined in assisting the Government and Bourgeoisie, to smash its competitors on the world market.

The old alignments of the trade union movement have disappeared with some exceptions. The Trade Unions of every country have found one common language, in spite of the fact that they were fighting at the opposite sides of the battle line, over the class interest of the various countries.

14. The period of the world war was a period of disintegration and decay of the trade unions. The leaders of the Trade Union movement were the agents of the Government and tried to smother all attempts at revolutionary protest, they did nothing to prevent the conditions of labour growing worse, they agreed to the workers being imprisoned in their factories and not being allowed to move from place to place without permission, they permitted the privileges gained by years of struggle to be annulled. In short they executed submissively all the commands of the ruling classes.

15. The expression of the growing dissatisfaction caused by the war and ensuing mass action were strangled at their birth by the leaders of the old trade union movement. The fear of revolution which for many years had kept back the ruling classes from military adventure had disappeared, for not only the bourgeoisie, but the workers organised in trade unions, were against the revolution. This conversion of the leaders of the trade union movement into chained dogs of capitalism is the greatest moral victory of the ruling classes, and at the same time the greatest defeat of the working class, at the first stage of the world war.

16. The nationalist activities of the trade union leaders brought a deep corruption into the masses. Instead of the gospel of class unity and class solidarity, the only appeal of the leaders to the working class which was heard for years was the urging of the workers to strain all their forces against their national foe for the defence of their countries, and the sacred unity of the classes. These treacherous activities carried on with the support of the bourgeois press and the material aid of the government was the principal reason for the prolongation of the war and for the innumerable sacrifices, which the working class sustained as a result of the international slaughter.

The war was the manifestation of the unparalleled bankruptcy of all the three forms of the labour movement. The trade unions of England and America, of Germany and Austria and the revolutionary syndicalists of France rallied on the platform of the betrayal of the working class.

IV. The Trade Unions after the War.

17. The post-war policy of the trade union leaders in various countries had the same basic features as their policy in time of war. It consisted in the prolongation of the „sacred unity“ of classes concluded during the war, tending to subject the interests of the working masses to the interests of the rehabilitation of the capitalist economic order, to induce the workers to give up their revolutionary struggle in the name of class harmony, preaching that only the rehabilitation of capitalism can improve the wealth of society, and the conditions of vast masses of the working class.

18. In France this policy took a most disgusting character because its advocates are the revolutionary syndicalists of yesterday, anti-statist and anti-militarist.

The leaders of the General Confederation of Labour are anxious of the honor of sitting at the Versailles Congress. This puts upon them the initiative of making the German workers pay the losses inflicted by the war, of breaking up the revolutionary strike movement side by side with the Governments and the bourgeoisie and fighting against even the idea of social revolution. They proclaim the principles of the reconstruction of capitalism upon the basis of collaboration of all the vital forces of present day society—the workers the bosses and the government representatives. This policy inside the labour movement leads to the corruption of the proletarian consciousness, and to the loss

of confidence in the masses with revolutionary slogans and appeals. The more the General Confederation of Labour is subjected to and dependent on the bourgeoisie, the more it cries out about „independence“ and „autonomy“ of the Trade Union movement from communism, appealing to the „Charte d'Amiens“ of which the leaders of the General Confederation of Labour have made a great mess.

19. On the basis of this unheard-of treachery and shameless betrayal of the elementary revolutionary class principles, a strong movement has grown up in France which expressed itself in the Central Revolutionary Syndicalist Committee.

The revolutionary opposition has already consolidated about half of the members of the G. C. L. but in spite of its growth in numbers, it is as yet weak in its understanding of revolutionary principles.

The opposition is united in its struggle against both obvious and secret treachery of the interests of the working class. Although the opposition is gaining victory owing to its solid front, still it has not made quite clear yet to itself the problems and program and has not yet created its militant slogans. The opposition consisting of anarchists, revolutionary syndicalists and communists, proclaims the slogan: „Back to the Amiens Charter“ This slogan is insufficient as the majority of the General Confederation of Labour is also referring to the Amiens Charter. Both conflicting parties are thus using the same slogan and therefore creating chaos amongst the workers.

The fact that a majority of the General Confederation of Labour also refers to the Amiens Charter ought to be realised by the opposition of the R. S. C. and it should draft a Charter of its own to meet the demands of the day.

20. The Amiens Charter, as the result of the workers' protest against the opportunism of the socialist parties, cannot be considered as a basis of activities not only because it was written 15 years before the war and the revolution, but also because it did not answer the various problems of the working class even at that period.

The world war, the decay of capitalism and the revolution, all taken together, absolutely dictate to the minority of the General Confederation of Labour of France, not to stay within the frame of the antiquated Amiens Charter, but to draft a new charter in accordance with the new circumstances. But in no way then should the opposition use the same slogans which the present leaders of General Confederation of Labour are using. 21. The German trade unions have played an essential part in saving the German bourgeoisie and the German military clique. The revolution of 1918 has so terrified the

German bourgeoisie that it turned to the trade union movement aiming to prevent them from the idea of transformation of the bourgeois revolution into a social revolution.

The trade unions have concluded an agreement with the German bourgeoisie on labour boards composed of workers and employers on which the old post-war activities of the German trade union movement were based. Constant talk of social reforms was the basis of the agreement. The result of this class cooperation philosophy was the economical and political domination of the bourgeoisie. Breaking down the revolutionary movement of the masses by the active aid of the trade unions was the consequence of this agreement.

The German trade unions, forgetting their class were fully occupied by the restoration of capitalism, and have not even stopped supporting the bloody repression of the working class.

22. This counter-revolutionary part played by the trade union bureaucracy got the upper hand owing to the poverty of the toiling masses caused by the war. This has created on one side much protest among the workers, and on the other hand hoplessness, pessimism—a fatalistic outlook on the future of trade unions.

The protest against the trade unions found its expression by the forming of opposing nuclei of communist groups which were spread all over Germany.

The hopeless view of trade unions found its expression in the slogan „smash the trade unions“, which in its objective sense is counter-revolutionary. Besides the opposition in the old trade unions, there are a few groups outside the trade unions (General Worker's Union of Genselkirchen, General Worker's Socialist Union). All these bodies are fighting between themselves instead of fighting the capitalists and their supporters of trade unions.

These groups have been joined by the excluded unions, as the trade union bureaucracy, being terrified by the growth of the communist groups in opposition to the trade unions, have started to exclude from the central union, branches, districts and locals, also separate individuals.

23. The trade unions of England immediately after the war, began to carry on a vigorous struggle to improve the conditions of labour, and to preserve the position they conquered.

The great strike of the coal miners and other trades shows the strength and obstinacy of the English proletariat in the struggle when their economic interests are affected. The

period after the war has shown to what extent certain leaders in the labour movement in England are connected with the bourgeoisie and with its executive committee, the bourgeois government.

Each clash, each great conflict, has met with reaction inside of the organization itself, also in other labour unions.

These peculiarities of the English labour movement are very characteristic. The English labour movement in comparison to the pre-war period has moved forward, the same cannot be said of the German or French labor movement.

24. During the war shop committees have sprung up which became very effective during the years 1917 & 1918. After that time they lost their power, though the recognition of the necessity of a revolutionary struggle has grown to a certain degree among the masses of England. The weakness of the vanguard is due to the fact that they have not become organically part of some labour organization. This is because that they have not succeeded in gaining control even over one large union.

The problem under such conditions is not to wrest individual exceptional members from the mass of workers from the unions in order to organize new unions but to work in the midst of those organizations, in the mills and factories, penetrate all branches of the industry and by becoming an organic part of it gain the leading power from top to bottom.

Only such direction—systematic, unremitting and steady work—will bring positive results in a country with a gigantic labour movement saturated with old traditions and conservatism as is the English labour movement.

25. In America, as in no other place, the labour unions and their leaders play the part of agents of capital as do Gompers and his clique, who are the head of the American Federation of Labour. Even the Amsterdam International is considered too revolutionary and they find it impossible to participate in it. The A. F. of L. puts all its hopes in the righteousness of the bourgeoisie, and refuses to listen to the feasibility of a revolutionary struggle for a new order.

This most typical classic example, is an example of cooperation of the leaders of the labour movement with the bourgeois government. This dependence upon the bourgeoisie and the American millionaires is the main reason, why these Gomperses talk so much about autonomy and independence in the labour movement.

The A. F. of L. serves as a reliable tool in the hands of the bourgeoisie for suppressing the revolutionary movement. The bourgeoisie takes advantage of the situation, draws the labour movement into conflicts, which leaves the bourgeoisie in a stronger position than ever.

The A. F. of L. does not participate in the class struggle, still some of its separate groups, as local organizations frequently clash with the government and the bourgeoisie. Though unorganized, these groups are ready to repudiate the principles upon which the A. F. of L. rests.

26. The I. W. W., an independent organisation in America, is too weak to take the place of the old labour organisation. The I. W. W. have a purely anarchoist, anti party point of view against politics and political action. They are also divided on the cardinal question of proletarian dictatorship. Along with these two there are independent unions whose independence does not mean anything: they are slaves to their false prophets who are counter-revolutionary. Therefore the creation of revolutionary cells and groups inside the American Federation of Labour and the Independent Unions is of vital importance. There is no other way to gain access to and control over the labour movement in America.

27. In Italy the circumstances are very peculiar. A great majority of the Italian proletariat accepts the revolutionary struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The leaders of the General Confederation of Labour have no faith in revolutionary methods and are nearer in their theory and practice to opportunism than to revolutionary socialism. Alongside with the General Confederation of Labour exists the Syndicalist Union—an independent union which, contrary to the independent unions of America, is saturated with a deep revolutionary, communist spirit. They practically accept the program of the Third International and the International of Revolutionary Trade and Industrial Unions.

28. In the rest of the European countries and in America the labour movement has moved swiftly forward. Inside of many old unions in many countries there have been formed minority oppositions (Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc.), in other countries (Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Norway, etc.) the majority is in favour of a social revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This peculiar state in the labour movement in all countries shows how far the movement has developed. The lessons of the war and the Russian Revolution were not in vain. The revolutionising of the unions is a result of the natural development in modern times. The problem of the Red Labour Unions is to organise these unions on the basis of revolutionary class consciousness directing them against their principal enemy—against the bourgeoisie.

V. Neutrality, Independence and Socialism.

29. Socialism has ceased to be merely a theoretical discussion; it is a practical question of the day. Therefore each labour organisation must take a definite stand upon the subject. To avoid a plain answer makes the labour organisation a passive onlooker in the present class struggle, in other words such an attitude indirectly assists the enemy. Each union must decide which way to turn—to the opportunists or to the revolutionary socialists, that is communists. Herein lies the fault of neutrality and „independence“.

30. The aims of the revolutionary unions are the destruction of capitalism and the establishment of a socialist order. The proletarian revolutionary party, the Communist Party, is aiming towards the same goal.

In so far as the basic methods of struggle are the same, the political and economic organization of the proletariat cannot exist side by side without mutual contact in the common struggle, which daily becomes further involved. No single campaign can be carried through with any degree of success, without mutual aid and ever-increasing contact. Isolated action is foredoomed to failure and defeat.

31. The revolutionary trade unions, therefore, were always opposed to the idea of neutrality and the independence of the trade unions from the revolutionary party of the proletariat. They knew that such ideas were only a cloak for the scheme hatched by bourgeois reformers who divided the economic struggle of the proletariat from the political struggle with the object of weakening and corrupting the working masses. Political neutrality and independence of trade unions from revolutionary socialism always have been, and still are, the slogans put out by the most backward sections of the labour movement of all countries.

During the last few years the closer the ties binding the trade union leaders in all countries to the League of Nations, and the more these leaders are controlled by the bourgeoisie of their respective countries, the louder and stancher has become their championship of the idea that the trade unions should be independent of the Communist International.

This idea must, therefore, be decidedly and totally rejected.

32. The task before the trade unions is to fight the neutralists' views and mentality, which brings decay and corruption into the labour ranks and their organizations. Any trade union drops its traditional bias and desire for neutrality and aloofness

from communism in direct proportion to the extent that it takes a hand in the social war and fighting capitalism.

The present situation imperatively dictates that the revolutionary unions and the communist party should act together in fighting for the social revolution and for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But such concerted action is the best practical refutation of the thoroughly out-of-date and purely theoretical view of neutrality and independence—a doctrine that has never been carried out in actual practice.

33. Every economic clash is also political, i. e. a general class struggle. The struggle itself under such conditions, whatever the numerical strength of the workers lined up in a given country, can be really revolutionary and carried out with the greatest benefit for the working class as a whole, only when the revolutionary trade unions will march shoulder to shoulder in the closest cooperation and unity with the communist party of the given country.

The theory and practice of splitting the struggle of the working class into two independent halves is utterly detrimental, especially at the present moment.

Every mass action requires the utmost concentration of forces, which is possible only when the entire revolutionary energies of the working class are strained to the utmost, i. e. when all its revolutionary and communist elements are brought into play. Independent revolutionary action by the communist party and the revolutionary red unions is foredoomed to failure and ruin. That is why unity of action, organic connection with the Communist Parties and trade unions is a necessary requisite for the successful struggle against Capitalism.

VI. The Amsterdam International.

34. The anti-class militarist policy of the trade-unions of the belligerent countries caused the breakdown of all the international connections that had existed prior to the war, such as the international secretariat headed by Legion, as well as all the independent international federations of textile workers, metal workers, etc). They broke up—according to their respective locations—into pro-Ally and pro-German units.

35. The general misery bred by the war, stronger class antagonism, insecurity, uncertainty about to-morrow, growing unemployment, and utter disappointment with the results of the war acted as a great impelling force in driving the mas-

es into the trade-unions. The war brought up the lowest strata of workers, aroused them, made them distrust their own individual efforts, and forced the most backward worker to do some hard thinking on the causes and the consequences of the disaster under which all mankind is now laboring. The feeling of international solidarity so long repressed during the war, awoke with new force in the working masses that had been torn up by the war into national units; this new feeling called for the rebuilding of the international connections, the necessity for which is instinctively felt even by the most backward sections of the working class.

36. Hence the efforts of the bankrupt leaders of the trade-unions in taking the initiative in rebuilding the International and getting at the helm of the movement in order the better to strangle it. Having attempted to create a trade-union International of the Entente type (Leeds, 1916), these leaders of the Entente unions began, immediately after the close of the war, to „restore“ the international connections by taking part in some of the labour commissions organized for the purpose of working out supplementary articles to the Versailles Treaty. In this way they have crowned, on an international scale, the treacherous work which they had carried on within their respective bourgeois countries.

37. The victory of „democracy“ in the international slaughter was signalized by creating the Labour Bureau as a part of the League of Nations, which represents the highest achievement of the idea of peaceful development and class cooperation. This Bureau, made up of six labour leaders, six employers, and six representatives of bourgeois governments, has for its object not only to study the struggle, but also steer this struggle along the channels of peaceful development and amicable solution of the conflicts between Labour and Capital.

38. In Berne (February, 1919), and in Amsterdam (July, 1919) the trade-union International was formally restored. This International is the continuation of the nationalistic policy on an international scale. The new International began its work by declaring in favour of the International Labour Bureau and baptised its leaders in the fount of world imperialism. Its program is: peaceful development, cooperation of classes, gradual growing into socialism, and the deadly fear and hatred of the revolutionary movement of the masses.

39. Such international treason of those who for many years have been selling the workers of their countries, wholesale and retail, was quite natural and logical, but this was

in entire discord with the fundamental interests of their shelterless and homeless proletariat. We see that simultaneously with the creation of this international bulwark of the bourgeoisie a movement of protest against the line of war imperialism is growing in all directions and in all countries. This protest, rendered more acutely by the growing socialist struggle, had not at first its own international central organization. Such a centre was created at the initiative of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions in July, 1920 represented by the International Trade Union Council. The birth of this centre for revolutionary trade unionism is the starting point of an implacable war within the bounds of the trade union movement of the world carried under the slogan: "Moscow or Amsterdam". Cleavage within the old organizations is proceeding at a rapid rate in proportion as the economic crisis is growing more intense and the prospects for peaceful development are growing more hopeless for the proletariat.

40. The very fact of the appearance of the Red Trade Union International gave a tremendous impetus to the ceaseless growth of the numbers of those who side with the Red International. This fact, and the formation of various groups in the trade union movement of the world on one side, and the constant decay of the Amsterdam combination on the other hand, puts before the revolutionary trade unions of all countries the question of the future methods of organization as well as of the methods to be used in attacking the international capital and the yellow leaders who are at the head of the Amsterdam Trade Union combine.

VII. Methods of struggle.

41. The Revolutionary Unions will be able to defeat the old leaders only when the revolutionary and the most class conscious elements will not consent to detach themselves for a moment from the masses and their daily needs and hopes. The work must be carried on at the battle ground of the conflicts by which the masses are deeply stirred. The contemptuous and haughty attitude towards the daily struggle, to the material interests of the union members will detach the vanguard from the masses and create a gulf between them and the compact columns of the proletarian army. Therefore the swift response to the daily struggle and the ability to utilize it from the standpoint of our final revolutionary aim is the most important question of union tactics.

42. The basis for enlarging our influence must be sought in the economic struggle. Questions of wages, of securing relief and work for the war victims, social insurance, unemployment, women and child labour, sanitary conditions in industrial establishments, high prices, the housing question, etc., all these must be utilized as daily material for organization and militant socialist education. The adherence of the Red Trade Union International must in no case remain out of the pale of the labour organizations, must not act on the workers from the outside. Our task is to work insistently and systematically within the trade unions giving the large labour masses practical lessons in the revolutionary spirit, self-sacrifice and communism.

43. We shall be able to conquer the masses, and consequently the trade unions as well, only on condition that we are always at the head of the fight, both offensive and defensive, always at the front ranks. This, in no case, means that we should always callstrikes from the mistaken standpoint that a strike under all conditions and circumstances is an unmixed blessing. There are no absolutely faultless methods of struggle; everything depends on time, place, and conditions. Those who side with the Red Trade Union International must not only be model revolutionists, but also models of sustained action and cool-headedness. The whole secret of success is in systematic, planned-out and stubborn preparation of every move, of every massaction; rapidity and sureness of action must go hand in hand with a detailed study of each situation and its conditions, as well as of the organized strength of the enemy forces. In class struggles, as well as in battles at the front we should know not only how to attack, but also how to retreat in orderly and compact formation. Both in offensive and defensive warfare it is always necessary to keep in view one thing—the sympathy of the large proletarian masses and the entire social and political atmosphere in which the struggle takes place.

VIII. Plan of Action.

44. Starting from the above stated principles, from the condition of the international trade union movement, the economic crisis, the acuteness of the class struggle, the growing social conflicts and the necessity of leading the trade unions towards the social revolution and the dictatorship of

the proletariat—the first International Congress of Trade and Industrial Unions adopts the following program of action likewise accepted by the Third Communist International.

45. The fundamental policy of the Trade Unions is that of direct action of the revolutionary masses and their organisations against Capital. All victories of the workers are in direct proportion to the degree of direct action and revolutionary pressure which they have exerted. By direct action is understood all forms of immediate pressure of the workers upon the employers and the State, such as: boycott, strikes, street uprisings, demonstrations, seizure of factories, violent resistance against the removal of goods from factories and stores, armed insurrection and other revolutionary activity which rally the working class in the struggle for socialism. The task of the revolutionary class-conscious Trade Unions consists in transforming direct mass action into an instrument for the social revolution of the working class and its militant training for the social revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

46. The last years of the struggle have shown with a peculiar vividness the inability of strictly trade union organisations, to meet the situation. The fact that the workers in one concern belong to different craft unions weakens labour's effectiveness in the struggle. This is necessary—and this should be the starting point of an implacable effort to pass from craft unionism to industrial unionism. „One union for one enterprise”—this is the militant motto in the structure of organisation. The fusion of related unions into one union should be effected in a revolutionary way, putting this question directly before the members of the unions in the factories and industries as well as before district and regional bodies and national conventions.

47. Each factory and each shop should become a citadel of the revolution. Old form of communications between rank and file members of the union and the union itself such as money collectors, representatives, proxies and others should be substituted by the formation of factory committees. The factory committee must be elected by the workers engaged in the given factory, independently of the political creed they profess. The problems imposed upon the supporters of the Red International of Trade Unions draw all the workers of a given concern into the election of their representative body. The attempt to elect the factory committees exclusively among adherents of the same party casting aside the non party rank and file workers should be severely condemned. This would be only a

nucleus and not a factory committee. The revolutionary workers should influence and act upon the general mass on the committee of action and their rank and file workers as well.

48. The first question to be put before the workers in the factory committee—is the maintenance of the workers discharged on account of unemployment, at the expense of the employer. Workers should not be permitted to be thrown on the streets without the employers being in the least concerned. The owner must be compelled to pay full wages to the unemployed. This should be put before the unemployed, and especially to the workers engaged in the works, explaining to them at the same time that the problem of unemployment is not to be solved within the capitalist regime, and that the only way to abolish it is the social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

49. The closing down of concerns and shortening of the working hours are the most efficient means which the bourgeoisie has for compelling the workers to accept lower wages and longer hours, and the abolition of collective bargaining. Lock-outs take a more and more definite form of direct action on the part of the employers against the organized workers. Therefore the trade unions must carry on a fight against the closing down of factories and for the right of the workers to investigate the causes of such shutting down. For this purpose special Committees should be organized with regard to the control of fuel, raw material, orders, for the purpose of verifying the amount of available raw material, necessary for production, as well as the financial resources in the banks. Especially elected controlling commissions must investigate in the most careful manner the financial correlation existing between the given factory and other for which purpose it is necessary to place before the workers as practical problem of the day the putting an end to the secretiveness of business transactions.

50. One of the ways of battling against the closing of concerns for the purpose of the reduction of wages and lowering of the standard of life, should be the taking over of the factories and mills by the workers and the proceeding with production by themselves despite the owners.

Owing to the lack of goods, it is highly important that production should continue and the workers should therefore oppose the premeditated closing down of factories and mills. In connection with local conditions and the condition of production, the political situation, the tension of the class struggle,—the seizure of the enterprises may and should be followed by other methods of pressure upon capital. On taking

hold of the concern the management of the same should be given to factory and workshop committees and to a representative of the union specially appointed for the purpose.

51. The economic struggle should follow the slogan of increase in wages and the improvement of labour conditions to a much higher level than that of pre-war period. The attempts to bring back the workers to the pre-war conditions of labour must meet with the most resolute revolutionary resistance. The exhaustion of the working class during the period of the war must be compensated by an increase in wages and the improvement of labour conditions. The reference of capitalists to foreign competition should by no means be taken into consideration: the revolutionary trade unions are bound to approach the question of wages and labour conditions not from the point of view of competition between rapacious capitalists of different nations, but solely from that of the preservation and the defence of the working class.

52. When the tactics of wage reduction are resorted to by the capitalist class during an economic crisis, the problem of the revolutionary trade unions consists in resisting wage reduction in capitalist industries, in order not to be defeated peace meek. The workers engaged in the public service enterprises such as the mining, railroad, electric, gas concerns and others, should make their struggle simultaneous, in order that the struggle against the onslaughts of capital should touch the very nerve of the economic organism.

All ways of resistance from the intermittent strike up to a general strike embracing the key industries will be a weapon against the reactionary bourgeoisie of all countries.

53. In the struggle against the employers sabotage and destruction of machinery some times take place. Such methods should be emphatically condemned, not only because the proletariat, being the inheritor of the bourgeoisie, is vitally concerned in the preservation of its wealth, but also because the destruction of machinery does not serve its purpose, i. e. that of preventing the opening of the factory while compelling the workers unwilling to strike to remain idle. It cannot serve as a means of organization. The supreme criterion of action being good or bad is whether it will contribute to the education and organization of the masses.

54. The belief in the sanctity of the collective bargain propagated by the opportunists of all countries, must be met with a resolute and keen resistance from the part of the revolutionary trade union movement. The collective bargain is

nothing more than an armistice. The owner always violates these collective contracts when the smallest opportunity presents itself for doing so. The respect towards collective bargains proves only that bourgeois conceptions are deeply rooted in the minds of the leaders of the working class. The revolutionary trade unions without as a rule rejecting collective bargains must realize their relative value and clearly define methods which will abolish these contracts when it proves to be profitable to the working class.

55. The struggle of the labour organization against the individual and collective employer, while adapting itself to the national and local conditions, should utilize all the experience acquired during the previous periods of the struggle for the liberation of the working class.

Therefore, every large strike should not only be well prepared but simultaneously with its declaration, special forces must be organized to prevent scabbing and to counteract provocative moves on the part of white-guard organizations, encouraged by the bourgeoisie and the government. The Fascists in Italy, the Technical Aid in Germany, the civil white guard organizations consisting of ex-commissioned and non commissioned officers in France and in England — all these organizations pursue the policy of disorganizing and forestalling all activities of the workers with the purpose not only to replace the strikers by scabs, but to destroy their organizations and to kill the leaders of the labour movement. Under these conditions the organization of special strike militia and special self-defence detachments is a question of life and death to the workers.

56. These militant organizations should not only resist the attacks of the employers and the strikebreaking organizations, but take the initiative by stopping all freight and goods on their way to the factory; in such cases other organizations, such as the transport workers, should play a specially prominent part; the task of stopping the transportation of freight has fallen on their shoulders, and can be accomplished only by the unanimous support of all the workers of the locality.

57. All the economic warfare of the working class in the next period should center around the slogan "Control of Industry". This control must be effected without waiting until the governments and the ruling classes have started a fake control. We must conduct a stubborn war against all attempts on the part of the ruling classes and reformists to create labour associations in which labour and capital cooperate or control commissions shared jointly by workers and employers.

This control of industry must be brought about by direct action: only then will this control give definite results. The revolutionary trade unions must come out with determination against the tricks and fraudulent schemes paraded as „socialisation“ by the leaders of the old trade unions cooperating with the ruling classes. All the talk on the part of those gentlemen about peaceful nationalization have for their sole object the side-tracking of the workers from revolutionary work for the social revolution.

58. To divert the attention of the workers from their immediate revolutionary task and to awake in them petty bourgeois aspirations, the capitalists and reformists are bringing forward the idea of profit sharing, i. e. to return to the workers a really insignificant part of the surplus value produced by them. This plan of corrupting the workers should be met by severe and merciless criticism. Not „profit-sharing“, but „to do away with capitalist profit“ — this is the slogan of the revolutionary trade unions.

59. While conducting the fight for improving the conditions of labour, raising the standard of living of the masses and establishing the workers' control over industry, we should always keep in mind that it is impossible to solve all these problems within the frame of the capitalist system. For this reason the revolutionary trade union, while gradually forcing concessions from the ruling classes, compelling them to enact social legislation, should put before the working masses a clear cut idea, that only the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat can solve the social question. For this reason not a single case of mass action, not a single situation, not a single small conflict should be allowed to pass, without leaving a deep mark. It is the duty of the revolutionary trade unions to interpret these conflicts to the workers, leading the rank and file always towards the idea of the necessity and the inevitability of the social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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